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Harry Levin's assessment of Shakespearean onomatology as a wide-open field sixteen years ago is likely still to be correct, despite various authors' helpful notes, essays, and new editions, and a systematic but often unreliable new book.[1] Though marked by occasional blindspots, the most methodical and complete work in the field remains an untranslated 1913 Jena dissertation.[2] From this last work and others, we learn that Shakespeare is sometimes purposely guilty of anachronism and anatopism in his choice of names, but that they are usually selected with historical and ethnographic correctness, particularly for the upperclass characters of the tragedies and histories. Further, we are reminded that Shakespeare is ready to organize a whole play around naming, fond of using charactonyms, prone to repeat the same personal name in several plays (and even the same play), inconsistent about the spelling of names, and given to Latin instead of Greek forms for the gods and heroes.[3] Statistics regarding these and other of his onomastic practices are, however, regrettably few.

By way of surveying Shakespeare's practices in the third of the corpus that is slipping away quickest from our increasingly Latin-less and Greek-less world, I propose to see what kinds of questions can be raised and/or answered about such works by a

statistical method. Subsequently, I shall consider two plays in detail and show how older, more traditional methods of research still yield useful information about the author's twelve plays and two epyllia with classical settings.

What is a name? We would certainly want to include place-names, gods' names, personal- and nick- and nonce-names, and names of obvious personifications and hypostasizations: "Nature," "Fortune," and extended use of a work like "Degree" in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida. If several of us leaf through each of Shakespeare's fourteen classical works, recording each name only once for each work, we obtain, depending on our individual accuracies and sense of what constitutes personification, figures like the rough ones in Table I. There we notice that a considerable number of names appears in most of the classical works, with the exception of Venus and Adonis and to some extent Timon of Athens, while there is a remarkably high name count in three of the works: Titus Andronicus, Troilus and Cressida, and Antony and Cleopatra. Of all the figures, those for Timon of Athens are likeliest, it seems to me, to point immediately to useful literary and biographical inferences.

There is nothing excessively small about the number of names in Timon, but the figure begins to seem potentially significant when we recall the theory that this is an incompletely polished play because, among other reasons, the author has several of the names all wrong.[4] Indeed, as Table II indicates, no Greek work of Shakespeare's exhibits anywhere near such a large intrusion of Latin names. Some

scholars maintain that Shakespeare's upperclass characters in all his classical works are endowed with Latin and Greek names indiscriminately without regard to setting.[5] But this is just not so. For every largely inexplicable intrusion--a Marina in Greece, an Andronicus in Rome--there are two or three supposed intrusions that are easily explained away.[6] The other mistaken conclusions that have been reached in the case of Timon include ones based on the theory that Shakespeare was mentally unbalanced when writing this play. Then there is the only slightly saner notion that the characters are here given Roman names to suggest the presence of a late-Roman effete and mercenary spirit in the fifth-century Athens of Alcibiades--a preposterous idea, particularly in view of the fact that the play's kindest, most loyal and lovable character (Flavius) is graced with a Roman name.[7] Surely, the statistics on names help force us to the only admissible deduction: that despite much modern criticism to the contrary, Timon is a truncated piece of art, preserving in fossil form its author's odd habit of saving till the very last moment the final assignment of names to his minor characters.

Another Shakespearean habit that some as yet undone onomastic survey may clarify is the employment of national and locational names in frequencies varying with the species of work involved. My preliminary evidence on this matter (see Table III) would seem to indicate that except for Lucrece and even more so, Venus and Adonis, the classical works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries iterate

loco-descriptive words like "Dardan," "Athens," or "Romans" with much greater frequency than do all other works, barring only the English history plays. Though King Lear has references to Dover and Gloucester, the national term "Britain" and its cognates appear only 3 times. In Macbeth, "Scot" and its cognates appear only 10 times. Even in Othello the count is a mere 22 for "Venetian" and "Venice," 23 for "Cyprus." In startling contrast with the average for these three tragedies is that for Titus, Caesar, Antony, and Coriolanus--Shakespeare's four Roman tragedies--where references are respectively 124, 68, 38, and 106. The figures for the Greek plays are admittedly less striking, with the exception of those for Troilus and Cressida, for it would appear that loco-description was more firmly associated with Elizabethan Roman plays both before and after Shakespeare's. As Table III indicates, Lodge's Wounds of Civil War, a drama of Marius and Sulla written some six years before Titus, has a staggering 224 Rome references.[8] Contemporary with Titus is Kyd's translation of Garnier's Cornelie, doubling the Rome references of the original with substitutions like "Roman" for heroique and "Brave Romaine Souldiers, sterne-borne Sons of Mars" for the simpler enfans du dieu Mars.[9] Finally, Jonson, Marston, Fletcher, Nabbes, and others not mentioned in Table III illustrate the persistence of Rome references by contrast to the relative sparsity of analogous references in these dramatists' non-Roman works. Whether such persistence is related to the Roman play's traditional concern with the political and military rhetoric of patriotism remains to be

seen. With some justification, however, a modern classicist studying Julius Caesar has said that "Roman" is a word used by the republicans in Cicero's and Livy's patriotic way.[10]

The most interesting clue to this loco-description, uncommented upon by any scholar I know, is found in a source for Coriolanus, William Camden's Remains of 1605, which discusses the ancients' enthusiasm for "Onomanticall" matters, relates Roman anecdotes and superstitions about names, and states that the personal name "Romane" derives from a word meaning strength, specifically the Greek word rome.[11] Surely, if a half dozen years before Camden's book appeared, Shakespeare knew of this attractive etymology (unreliable though it may be), he would be tempted to exploit it. Perhaps this is an explanation for Cassius' preoccupation both with the name Roman and with physical strength, as in his tale of competing with Caesar and in his boast:

> Romans now
> Have thews and limbs like to their ancestors (JC I.iii. 80-81).

In much the same manner as in Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra and Coriolanus combine a Roman character's preoccupation with strength with the play's emphasis on names. "'Caesar!'?" asks Cassius in the first play, "Why should that name be sounded more than yours?" (JC I.ii. 141-142); and indeed that name and "Antony" occur much oftener in those two plays than do the names of the non-Roman protagonists in other Shakespeare plays. In the third great Roman tragedy, the death of Caius Marcius is occasioned

in part by his anger at being deprived of the triumphal agnomen "Coriolanus" just as earlier he had sought some triumphal name like "Romanus" when--

"Coriolanus"

He would not answer to; forbade all names;
He was a kind of nothing, titleless,
Till he had forg'd himself a name a'th' fire
Of burning Rome.

(Cor. V.i.11-15)[12]

Whether or not a Camdenesque etymology of Romane spurred Shakespeare's special use of names in his Roman tragedies is less important than that these and the Greek works be subjected to renewed evaluation from an onomastic point of view. The renaissance was equally entranced by antiquity and by onomatology. All suspected sources for names in Shakespeare's classical plays deserve to be assessed and codified. Reference works must be combed: notations in canonical and apocryphal scripture, dictionaries, and atlases of the time must be consulted methodically. With studies of pronunciation close at hand, all names, particularly invented ones, must be considered for possible lexical, etymological, or associative connotations. Finally, anachronistic name choice should be identified and its relative prominence evaluated in terms of the play or poem's other anachronisms, and its tone and genre and audience.

Much has already been achieved along these lines, but persons

with a few dozen spare hours can accomplish more without exhausting the opportunities for themselves or other scholars. In the following paragraphs, I hope to clarify this assessment by recourse to details drawn from the scholarship on two plays, the Roman Titus Andronicus and the Greek Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

A great deal of good historical spade work has been done on both plays. For example, Plutarch has been shown to be a likely source for many of the names.[13] Among interesting suggestions regarding the onomastics of Titus is the notion of the appropriateness of the names Mucius and Tamora, the former hinting at the handless Scaevola, the other at Biblical, medieval Georgian, and ancient figures -- with the second syllable of her name echoing the race of Tamora's lover, Aaron the Moor.[14] Similarly, critics point beyond the etymology of the Greek name Pericles ("widely famous") and see in it echoes of "peril" and periculum, the Latin for "danger",[15] and therefore a doubly appropriate name for this far-traveling, care-tossed father of the beautiful young heroine Marina. The incidence of anachronistic names is recorded as small among upperclass characters in both plays, as are other sorts of anachronism, exceptions being the Greek names "Andronicus" and Latin "Marina" (as mentioned) and allegedly the "Chiron" and "Demetrius" in Titus.

Most scholarly comment on Shakespeare's invention of a name for Marina's fiance, the prince-regent of Mytilene, has generally been restricted to remarks that he is named after King Lysimachos

of Thrace, an heir of Alexander's and a person whose somewhat tyrannical bent occasioned an anecdote that is quoted early in the play. Bullough, however, worries that the King is too cruel a prototype for Marina's intended, while the New Arden editor remarks that, after all, "For some time a Lysimachos was actually ruler of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos."[16] A search of standard encyclopedias disinters almost two dozen Lysymachoi, but none who ever governed Mytilene unless we stretch a point and again include King Lysimachos, whose vast realm actually once embraced this Lesbian polis.[17] Of the non-royal Lysimachoi thus unearthed, Shakespeare could discover three noble Athenians related to Socrates and mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Aristides.[18] And he might find two more, one a villainous high priest, the other a pious translator, in his Geneva Bible; there a supplement could remind him that "Lysimachus" means "dissoluing battel"[19] and thus of course indicates someone who delivers from, or dissipates conflict--a perfect name for the man who rescues Marina from the brothel, restoring her to social usefulness, family, and royalty. Surely, these facts and ideas should enrich the experience of readers of future editions of this play.

Present-day commentary can be improved also in regards to Marina's grandfather's kingdom, called in the sources by that magical-sounding name of "Pentapolis"[20] and said in the play to be "in our country of Greece" (Per. II.i.100, 64). Scholars, after noting that Libya had a famous Greek colony called Pentapolis,

usually conclude that Shakespeare had a mainland Greek site in mind. The whole matter is complicated by a stormy north wind endangering Pericles' ship off Ephesus, when he is half-way from Pentapolis to Tyre.[21] The ship is enroute to Tyre in modern Lebanon and if Shakespeare's Pentapolis were in North Africa, a north wind would drive the vessel to Egypt, not the tip of the southwest coast of Asiatic Turkey, on which Ephesus lies. Pentapolis must be to the north of Ephesus, approximately the same six hundred miles that Tyre is to the southeast.

No scholars seem ever before to have looked, but there are some seven ancient Pentapoleis to choose from, one about the right distance north, on the Black Sea south of the Danube mouth, an area visited by Jason, colonized by Greeks in very early times, and often classified as belonging to Thrace.[22] In antiquity and the renaissance, Thrace was frequently identified as a part of Greece.[23] Our knowledge of this Pentapolis is from inscriptions within some of its five constituent cities and suggests that the name lasted throughout the first century A.D., ceasing only when a sixth town transformed the territory into a Hexapolis.[24] Whether any of this information reached Shakespeare in documents now forgotten or lost, we cannot say. What we do know, however, is that Shakespeare had some knowledge of and interest in this Bulgarian-Romanian corner of the classical world and that he may have included this land in his designation "farthest Greece," mentioned in Comedy of Errors (I.i.132).

Historically one of the five cities of Pentapolis was Tomi. There, in writings especially popular in the renaissance, Shakespeare's favorite classical poet, Ovid, described his exile in a violent, Latinless, half-Greek frontier town among the Scythian Sarmatians and the Getae. This last name is often rendered "Goths,"[25] as in Shakespeare's punning reference to Ovid's exile in As You Like It III.iii.9, where Touchstone speaks of country living as living among "Goths" (pronounced, in the Elizabethan manner, goats). What could be more natural than to assume that the younger Shakespeare knew of this area of the confluence of cultures--Goths to the northwest, Scyths to the northeast[26]--when he invented his Gothic queen a few years earlier in Titus Andronicus? She, it will be remembered, fights like an Amazon (they too originated in Scythia), refers familiarly to Scythian mores, gave her eldest son a barbaric name and her younger boys Chiron and Demetrius not just Greek names but an education studying Latin in a grammar school (Tit.IV.ii.22-23)!

Would, however, the unattractive associations of Tomi make that Pentapolis inconsistent with the kingdom proposed for Marina's grandfather in Pericles? Act II, scene i shows us that King Simonides has not eliminated economic exploitation from his realm but that his people are loyal, patriotic, peaceful, and seemingly happy. Soon he, a contemporary of Antiochus the Great, is shown to be able to attract to his court noblemen of Macedon, Sparta, Antioch, Tyre, and presumably other corners of the Hellenistic world. Can this be the same wild land that Ovid and the Gothic

Queen Tamora knew? I think it possibly is because, though peace in the Tomi region was historically always fragile,[27] Pericles is a romance set in the expectant hush of the pre-Christian era, some four or five centuries prior to the time of Titus, which most assuredly depicts the Roman empire in its stormy final years.[28]

In closing, I would once again stress that there is something indicative of the current formative stage of Shakespearean onomatology that I could so easily make several useful discoveries--how useful I do not presume to say--concerning Pentapolis, Chiron, Demetrius, Lysimachus, and the implications of name-incidence in Timon of Athens and the Roman plays. Should not our Shakespeare editors and other scholars be more careful than they now are to search out, sift, reject, and classify such information on names--as careful as they are to do so with characterization and imagery, literary departments neither divorced from, nor vastly more important than, onomastics? In the name of Shakespeare, readers and viewers of today and tomorrow deserve as much.

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TABLE I: Approximate Total Incidence of Proper Nouns and Adjectives

Average Incidence		Below Average Incidence	
Comedy of Errors	60	"Venus and Adonis"	20
"Rape of Lucrece"	50	Timon of Athens	40
Midsummer Night's Dream	95		
Julius Caesar	75		
Pericles, Prince of Tyre	65	Above Average Incidence	
Coriolanus	60	Titus Andronicus	110
Cymbeline	80	Troilus and Cressida	125
Winter's Tale	65	Antony and Cleopatra	150
Two Noble Kinsmen	65		

TABLE II: Approximate Range of Linguistic Nationality in Names of Characters Supposedly Greek

	Ven.	Err.	MND	Tro.	Per.	Tim.	WT	TNK
Latin Names	0*	4	0	0*	1	13	2	4**
Greek Names	2	7	26	43	18	9	14	13
Other Names	1	13	8	3	7	0	8	8

*Unless one insists on the Greek forms of "Ulysses," "Ajax," "Venus," etc.

**Includes "Emilia," a name-choice dictated by the source, Chaucer.

TABLE III: Approximate Total Incidence of References to the Characters' Nationality In Selected Works (Titles Abbreviated)

Dramatists	Primary Setting of the Work			
16th C.	GREECE	ROME	BRITAIN	OTHER
Lodge		Wounds Rome 224		
Kyd		Cornelia " 63		Sp.Trag.Spain 12
Anon.		Caes.Rev. " 117		
Marlowe			Edw 2 England 38	Jew Malta 46
Shakespeare	Ven.Paphos 1	Luc. Rome 15	2H6 " 48	
	Err.Syracuse 14	Tit. " 124	3H6 " 28	
	Ephesus 7		Jn. " 56	
	Epidamium 7	JC " 68	R3 " 22	Rom.Verona 12
	MND Athens 36	Ant. " 38	2H4 " 13	MV Venice 18
	Tro. Troy 84	Cor. " 106	H5 " 93	TN Illyria 9
	Per. Tyre 25	Cym. " 42	Cym. Britain 40	Ham. Denmark 34
	Tharsus 16		Lr. " " 3	Oth. Venice 23
	Other Cities 19		Mac. Scotland 10	Cyprus 23
	Tim. Athens 37		H8 England 18	
	WT Bohemia 24			
	Sicilia 14			
	TNK Thebes 13			
	Athens 5			
17th C.				
Marston		Soph.Rome 34		Ant.M. Venice 8
				Ant.R. " 8
Jonson		Poet.Rome 35		Vol. " 10
		Sej. " 58		Alch. Eng/Ln 4
		Cat. " 97		
Chapman		Caes.Pomp " 48		Byr.C. France 9
				Bussy.D. " 2
Fletcher	Q.Cor.Corinth 5	B'duca Rome 99	B'duca Brit. 18	Rol.Norm. " 2
	Sparta 2	Valentin." 24		
Nabbes		Han.Scip. " 70		Unf.Moth. Ferrara/Italy 3

NOTES

[1]There seems to be nothing wiser in the way of general essays on this subject than G. Wilson Knight's, and nothing wittier than Harry Levin's: for the former see Knight's "What's in a Name," The Sovereign Flower (1959; London: Methuen, 1966), pp. 163-201; for the latter, see Levin's "Shakespeare's Nomenclature," Essays on Shakespeare, ed. Gerald V. Chapman (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 49-90. Among the most instructive of the remaining general studies that I have examined is Albert Howard Carter's brief essay on "The Meaning of Characters' Names in Shakespeare," Mississ.Q 15 (1961), pp. 33-39.

To the two halves of this subject, the most useful systematic studies remain Ernst Erler, Die Namengebung bei Shakespeare, Anglistiche Arbeiten, No. 2 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1913), and Edward H. Sugden, A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1925). (A more recent but often inaccurate study is Murray J. Levith, What's in Shakespeare's Names [Hamden, CT: Archon, 1978], where, for example, Kokeritz is wrongly said to countenance the notion that "Iras" and "Eros" [Ant.] were almost homonyms on the Elizabethan stage; see also my n. 15 infra.)

A sensitive and scientific approach to literary appellation in Shakespeare informs several recent pieces: e.g., Richard A. Coates, "A Personal Name Etymology and a Shakespearean Motiv,"

Names 24 (1976), 1-8; Bernhard Kytzler, "Classical Names in Shakespeare's Coriolanus," Archiv 204 (1967), 133-137; and Manfred Weidhorn's impressive pair of studies: "The Relation of Title and Name to Identity in Shakespearean Tragedy," SEL 9 (1969), 303-319 and "The Rose and Its Name: On Denomination in Othello, Romeo and Juliet, Julius Caesar," TSLL 11 (1970), 671-678.

Useful for comparing Shakespeare's habits with those of his contemporaries is Thomas L. Berger and William C. Bradford, Jr., An Index of Characters in English Printed Drama to the Restoration (Englewood, Co: Information Handling Services/PDS, 1975); in identifying the localities and national origins of characters, this work gives a sense of the comparative frequency of various settings. Of value for comparison of Shakespearean and Jonsonian practice is Leonard R.M. Ashley and Michael J.F. Hanifin, "Onomasticon of Roman Anthroponyms: Explication and Application," Names 27(1978), 297-401, Names 27(1979), 1-45. I have not been able to examine Peter Milward, "What's in a Name? A Study in Shakespeare Nomenclature," ELLS 5 (1968), 1-11.

[2]Ernst Erler's; see my n.1.

[3]W. T. Hastings, "Shakespere's Part in Pericles," SAB 14(1939), 67-85, reminds us that Shakespeare's Greek names have Latin terminations like -us, instead of -os. See also my Table II. The frequent variations in Shakespeare's and his compositors' spelling of names is stressed by Erler and by Jürgen Schäfer, "The Orthography of Proper Names in Modern-spelling Editions of Shakespeare,"

SB 23(1970), 1-19.

[4]H. J. Oliver's Tim., (1949; London: Arden Shakespeare, 1969) argues persuasively, especially on pp. xxv-xxviii, xviii, for the incompleteness of Tim. on such solid bases as the presence of the 3 characters with names beginning with "Luc-" and the 2 characters named "Flavius." Oliver suspects also an ad hoc invention of the name "Hostilius," as well as a temporary use of the many other Latin names, prior to revision.

[5]E.g., Erler, p. 69.

[6]E.g., "Nicanor" in Cor., "Philo" and "Demetrius" in Ant.; and (see infra) "Chiron" and "Demetrius" in Tit.

[7]G. Wilson Knight, p. 195, maintains this anachronistic notion of an effete and, therefore, supposedly Roman spirit in Athens, a notion echoed by Levith, p. 66. This onomastic problem, as well as other kinds of problems really or allegedly in Tim., are conveniently listed in Francelia Butler, The Strange Critical Fortunes of Shakespeare's "Timon of Athens" (Ames: Iowa State Univ. Press, 1966). For a more recent view of the play, where almost every purported defect is defended, see Rolf Soellner, Timon of Athens, Shakespeare's Pessimistic Tragedy (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1979).

[8]For chronology, I have been guided by the appropriate scholarly editors (Arden, Cambridge, Regents, Revels, etc.) and the ranges suggested in Alfred Harbage and Samuel Schoenbaum, Annals of English Drama: 975-1700, rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1964).

[9]Citations are to The Works of Thomas Kyd, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 115, 138, and Ouevres completes (theâtre et poesies)de Robert Garnier, ed. Lucien Pinvert, 2 vols. (Paris: Garnier freres, 1923) I,108, 139.

[10]Richard M. Haywood, "Shakespeare and the Old Roman," CE 16 (1954), 98-101, 151.

[11]As is demonstrated in Geoffrey Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare,8 vols. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1947-75), V, 477, 552, William Camden's Remaines. . . (London: Simon Waterson, 1605) contributed to the Fable of the Belly in Cor. This edition of Camden also contains a dictionary of personal names, including the entries "Romane, Lat. Strong, from the Greeke ῥωμὴ; answerable to Valens. . . Valens, Lat. Puissant." As Camden and anyone with a little Greek would know, the Greek terms for "Rome" and "strength" are homynyms; see Henry George Liddell et al., A Greek-English Lexicon,rev. ed., 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), s.v. "rōmē."

[12]The quotation marks in the Cor. speech are mine. Otherwise, all Shakespeare quotations, as well as line citations, are taken unchanged from The Riverside Shakespeare, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974). My observations on Ant. seem to be original, while those on Cor. have been inspired by Weidhorn.

[13]See Bullough, VI; Robert Adger Law, "The Roman Background of Titus Andronicus," SP 40 (1943), 145-153, overstates the nevertheless genuine role of Plutarch's names, a fault that is avoided by

the excellent D. P. Jackson, "North's Plutarch and the Name 'Escanes' in Shakespeare's Pericles," N&Q n.s. 22 (1975), 173-174, and the Arden and Cambridge ed. of Per. and Tit.; the Arden J.C. Maxwell ed., Tit. (1953; London: Methuen, 1961), and F. D. Hoeniger ed., Per. (London: Methuen, 1963); and the Cambridge John Dover Wilson ed., Tit. (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1948), and J.C. Maxwell ed., Per. (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1946).

[14]On Mucius, see Maxwell's Arden Tit., p. xxxiii. Levith finds the-mor-, Moor pun, p.45. I suspect that Tamora might also hint at Tomi(s), site of Ovid's Getic/Gothic exile. Every further reasonable suggestion is treated in Wolfgang Keller, "Titus Andronicus," SJ 74(1938), 137-162, where the Queen's name is linked with those of the Biblical and Georgian T(h)amar and the Massagetic Tomyris; the latter two are barbarous queens and come from the region of the Eastern Black Sea.

[15]Most of these points are made by Levith, pp. 102-103, which unfortunately also records another and most unlikely association for "Pericles": with Periclymens, a Protean enemy of Heracles.

[16]Hoeniger's Arden Per., n. to Dramatis Personae, p. 3.

[17]One would assume that no student of Shakespeare ever before looked for "Lysimachus" in Georg Wissowa et al. Paulys Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft (Stuttgart: A. Druckenmuller, 1893-), which, as of the 1978 supplement, listed twenty-one historical Lysimachoi, including seven Athenians. I believe I have found an additional "Lusimachus," one that

Shakespeare might have noticed, being termed the governor of Athens in Isocrates' time, according to Richard Rainolde's The Foundacion of Rhetorike (1563; facsim. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), sig. $E1^r$, where the name appears in both text and margin.

[18] In marrying into the family of Aristides the Just, Socrates became related to three Lysimachoi: Aristides' father, son, and grandson. There was also allegedly a fourth (see Paulys-Wissowa), Aristides' brother, unmentioned by Plutarch.

[19] The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition, intro. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969), Add. Esth. 11:1, II Macc. 4, and the glossary on sig. $IIi.i^r$.

That Shakespeare frequently used the Geneva Bible is amply demonstrated according to Richmond Noble, Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge (1935; New York: Octagon, 1970), e.g., pp. 64-69.

[20] Could "Pentapolis," site of the miraculous fishing up of Pericles' ancestral armor, suggest pentangles? "Pentapolis" is not, strictly speaking, Gower's spelling (it is "Pentapolim"), but is that of Twine, Shakespeare's other source. Both are reprinted by Bullough.

In this and succeeding paragraphs, some of the ideas and phraseology are borrowed from my somewhat differently organized forthcoming note entitled "'Farthest Greece': Pontic Geography in Titus Andronicus, Comedy of Errors, and Pericles."

[21] Though printing a map with Pentapolis located in Libya, Philip Edwards' Penguin Per. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p. 166,

notes that "if the gale was from the north (III Chorus 47; IV.i.52), a ship sailing from Pentapolis to Tyre would not have been driven north towards Ephesus and Tarsus" nor could it reach Tarsus from Ephesus in a night "'By break of day.'"

[22]Paulys-Wissowa lists six Pentapoleis. The University of London archaeologist Professor Ernest Arthur Gardner speaks of yet another, the island of Lesbos, including Marina's Lysimachus' city of Mytilene: The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed. (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1911), s.v. "Lesbos." Shakespeare's contemporary Abraham Ortelius states that Mytilene and four other cities constitute Lesbos, but does not specify the use of the designation "Pentapolis" here, though a student of Greek could infer it: see the Parergon of Ortelius' Theatro del Mundo. . . ., tr. Filippo Pigafetta (Antwerp: Giovanni Baptista Vrinto, 1608), Pl. XXX verso--"Lesbo. . . Pomponio constituisce in essa cinque citta."

Similarly, Ovid lists the five cities of which Tomi was one, but he does not specify that this was a Pentapolis, nor do any of his renaissance commentators that I have seen (Tristia I.x.35-42).

The historical Greek founding and the legendary past of Tomi is treated in Ovid's Tristia III.x; the geography of the region is the concern of several ancient authors--Strabo, Solinus, etc.--as well as of Ortelius. It is stretching a point to call Tomi a part of Greece, but the fact remains that it was part of greater Thrace, the center of which was often termed Greek. Tomi was in the Roman province of Lower Moesia (less correctly spelled "Mysia"),

which Ortelius terms one of the six parts of Thrace (Pl. XXVII). Solinus classifies the territory south of the Danube (alias Ister)-- that is, what was Lower Moesia-- as a part of Thrace.

See his phrase "On the Northmarches of Thrace, beateth the River *Ister [*Danow or Tonware]," or "Finibus Thraciae a septrione Ister obtenditur," in, respectively, The Excellent and Pleasant Work . . . of Caius Julius Solinus, tr. Arthur Golding (1587; facsim. rpt. Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1955), sig. $H4^{v}$, and C. Julius Solinus, Polyhistor, ed. Martinus Antonius Delrio (1571), bound with/in Dionysius of Alexandria and Pomponius Mela, Dionysius. . . ([Geneva]: Henricus Stephanus, 1577), sig. $M1^{r}$.

The standard modern treatment of Tomi is Theodor Mommsen's in his History of Rome. See the recently annotated selection by T. Robert S. Broughton, ed., The Provinces of the Roman Empire; The European Provinces (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 322-329, 337-338.

[23]Thomas Cooper, Thesavrus Lingva Romanae & Britannicae. . . (London: n.p., 1584, in his "Dictionarium Historiam & Poeticum. . .," s.v. "Grecia," lists "Thracia" (presumbly Thrace proper) as one of the "noble regions" of Greece; yet under "Thrace," "Mysia" (presumably the European rather than Asiatic Province) is identified simply as "towards Greekeland."

[24]Broughton's Mommsen, p. 325, n. 63.

[25]The long-standing confusion between the Getae (a Thracian tribe) and the Gothi (a German tribe) has its roots in antiquity, as is explained in Samuel Kliger, The Goths in England: A Study in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Thought (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1952); see also Ronald Broude, "Roman and Goth in Titus Andronicus," ShakS 6 (1970), 27-34.

Further complications are created by the term "Scyth," which Strabo says includes the Getae (Geography VII.iii.8). By contrast, in some editions, Ortelius places the Getae to the north of the Danube while Russia is made the homeland of two alternative peoples, the Scythians and the Sarmatians. Lastly, according to Statius, "Geticus" means Thracia; see Charlton T. Lewis et al. A New Latin Dictionary (New York: American Book Co., 1879), s.v. "Getae."

[26]See Ortelius and my n. 25 supra.

[27]King Lysimachos' reign was troubled by Getic invasions from across the Danube (see Paulys-Wissowa); later troubles, beginning in Ovid's time, are discussed by Mommsen.

[28]The historical Antiochus the Great, the alleged prototype for the pasteboard character of the same title in Per., died in the second century B.C. Proposed prototypes for characters in Tit. include a first century B.C. general Saturninus, a third century emperor named Bassianus, and a twelfth century Byzantine Emperor called Andronicus (see Maxwell's Arden Tit., pp. xxxiii-xxxiv and Bullough VI, 9-10). The displacement of Rome as seat of the empire

recurred sporadically in the second through fourth centuries. Hence one cannot be too definite about the period of time elapsing between Antiochus' death and Lucius Andronicus' being raised to imperial dignities.